

"Great corporations and consolidated monopolies are fast seizing the avenues of power that lead to the control of the Government. It is an open secret that they rule States through procured Legislatures and corrupted Courts; that they are strong in Congress, and that they are unscrupulous in the use of means to conquer prejudice and acquire influence. This condition of things is truly alarming, for unless it be changed quickly and thoroughly, free institutions are doomed to be subverted by an oligarchy resting upon a basis of money and of corporate power."—DAVID DAVIS.

DEMOCRACY

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ANTI-MONOPOLY.

An Address by F. B. THURBER, before the
Thomas Jefferson Club of Brooklyn,
April 16th, 1883.

"All public men must take their side on this question. There can be no neutrals. He that is not for us is against us. We must have legal protection against these abuses. This agitation once begun, and the magnitude of the grievance being understood, it will force our rulers to give us a remedy against it. The monopolies will resist with all their arts and influence, but fifty millions of people, in process of time, will learn the important fact that they are fifty millions strong."—JEREMIAH S. BLACK.

DEMOCRACY AND ANTI-MONOPOLY.

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Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Thomas Jefferson Club:

Two years ago the great State of New York was a Republican State, with a Republican Governor, and a Legislature Republican in both branches. At the last State Election it went Democratic by the largest majority ever known in its history, while other States showed material Democratic gains, but in a much smaller ratio than the State of New York. It is interesting to note some of the causes which led to this result and I will briefly state them as they appear from an anti-monopoly point of view.

For a number of years thoughtful men have noted with apprehension the rapid growth of corporate power and the influence which it exerted upon our Government. The corruptions of the Credit Mobilier, the enormous grants of public lands to corporations, the gigantic stock-watering operations of the elder Vanderbilt, the constant and rapid progress made in consolidating links of railroads into vast systems, with a tendency to exercise arbitrarily and unequally the power thus acquired, the open avowal by Jay Gould before legislative committees that bribery and corruption were the tools of corporate trade, and that political parties were but pawns in the great game which capital was playing to acquire the power to tax the people of a State or a Nation—these had rapidly formed a public opinion that it was necessary to take some steps to counteract the manifest tendency to concentrate wealth and power in the hands of the few, and render the masses of the people poor and dependent. The National Board of Trade, composed of delegates from the principal commercial bodies of the United States, at its convention held in Washington two years ago, adopted a report which states:

“The degree to which the great powers of steam and electricity have been allowed to pass into corporate hands, which employ them as a means to tax the public unduly for their use, is at this time forcing itself upon the attention of our statesmen, and there

is a widespread feeling that the public welfare demands that the power and privileges of corporate grants shall be limited in the future."

Following this line of thought, the people of the State of New York had for several years been trying to secure a supervision and control of railroad management, but without success. Year after year they had introduced a bill in the Legislature to provide a Board of Railroad Commissioners, but they found the Legislature organized and the Committees packed in the interest of the railroads, and no measure which was not approved by them could become a law. Indeed, Mr. Vanderbilt sitting in his office at the Grand Central Depot, exercised a more potent veto power over legislation than did the Governor of the State, for a constitutional majority could in some cases be obtained to pass a bill over the veto of the Governor, but no such majority could ever be obtained to pass a bill over the veto of Mr. Vanderbilt, because a majority of the Upper House had been elected and was controlled by the railroad interest, and every measure looking to the control of railroads was smothered or throttled without the slightest ceremony. Indeed legislation in the interest of the people seldom got so far as to make a railroad veto necessary, for the committees were constituted to suit the railroads, and measures in the interest of the people had to run the gauntlet of a packed jury, presided over by a judge who had a pecuniary interest in an adverse decision. It was even denied that abuses in railroad management existed. Influential journals ridiculed the charges made by the committees of citizens, who appeared at Albany to ask for legislation, and it became evident that we had first to let the people of the State know what a few knew—to let in "the keen sunlight of publicity"—before remedial action could be obtained. The commercial and agricultural interests then asked for an *investigation* of grievances, something that ought to be the right of any citizen, but even this was defeated. Through persistent effort, however, this, another year, succeeded, a legislative investigation was ordered, and a Republican committee, after eight months of investigation pronounced the principal charges "*fully proven*," and reported a series of bills designed to remedy different phases of the evil found to exist. Having proven our case, we thought that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a remedy. The Republican convention in its platform, and a

Republican Governor in his message to the Legislature, had both favored remedial action based upon the report of the investigating committee; but we had reckoned without our host. The most important of the measures recommended by the Hepburn Committee were mysteriously delayed in the Legislature, and threatened with defeat. A committee, representing the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade, called upon General Arthur who was at that time chairman of the Republican State Committee, and asked that these measures be made a party question. We showed General Arthur the Republican platform in which remedies were promised based upon the findings of the Investigating Committee, eight out of nine members of which were Republicans. We called attention to the Governor's message commending to the Legislature the measures which the Committee recommended. We asked how, with a Legislature Republican in both branches, and a Republican Governor, his party could escape the responsibility of defeating remedial legislation. General Arthur admitted the justice of the measures and the reasonableness of our views, but informed us that the party relied upon prominent railroad men to carry their districts, and that therefore the issue could not be made a party issue, and that the party promises to the people could not be redeemed.

FORMATION OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLY LEAGUE.

It then became evident that we could not rely upon the justice of our cause to make the Republican party managers fulfil their pledges; that public opinion was powerless unless it was crystallized into votes, and as the commercial bodies were not fitted for active political work, the Anti-Monopoly League was formed for that purpose and organization was pressed forward as rapidly as possible.

The bills which we had asked from a Republican Legislature had failed. In August of that year (1881) a conference of the Anti-Monopoly, Commercial and Agricultural organizations of the State was held at Utica. An address to the people of the State was adopted setting forth existing facts and naming 19 Senators who had been subservient to corporate interests. At the succeeding election but three of those Senators were returned, and those three by largely reduced majorities. In one case, and in one case only, did the Anti-Monopolists find it necessary to make an independent nomination. The Fifth Senatorial District was so

strongly Democratic that the Republicans made no nominations. It had been represented for two terms by a Democratic Senator who was notoriously subservient to the railroad interest. We had hoped that some party or organization would present a candidate for whom Anti-Monopolists could vote, but none were nominated, and within a week of the election we were confronted with the alternative of nominating a candidate or giving Senator Hogan a walk over. We called our skeleton leagues together, discussed the situation, and decided we would not be doing our duty to the people unless we gave them a candidate for whom they could consistently vote. We nominated John G. Boyd. We did not expect to elect him, for his opponent had the regular Democratic nomination, a Republican endorsement, and all the money and power of the railroads at his back. But, to our surprise, the 6,500 majority by which Senator Hogan had been elected previously, melted away and our candidate was triumphantly elected. Old politicians said that this was phenomenal, and the Monopoly newspapers scouted the idea that Anti-Monopoly had done it. One of them, however, admitted that it had had some influence, but stated that it "could only have such an effect in an ignorant, Democratic district;" "that in intelligent Republican districts Anti-Monopoly could have no effect." We did not know whether this was true or not, but made up our minds we would try the effect of our principles in a Republican District at the first opportunity. The death of Senator Wagner created a vacancy in the 18th Senatorial District which had been as strongly Republican as the 5th had been Democratic, Senator Wagner having been elected over an Independent Democratic candidate by 6,700 majority. As soon as it became evident that a special election would be held in this district, we began organizing. When the Republican Senatorial Convention was held, representatives of the Anti-Monopoly League appeared and asked the managers to select a candidate who was free from corporate influences. They answered by nominating Mr. Stanford, of Schenectady, a brother of the President of the Central Pacific Road, a man who, when in the Senate before, had voted against the two cent fare bill on the New York Central Road, and who is at present a manufacturer of locomotives. Our representatives then attended the Democratic Convention, presented the situation and made the same request we had made to the Republicans. A candidate who appeared to be free from

corporate influences was nominated and the Anti-Monopolists went vigorously to work. They made the only active canvass, formed 17 branch leagues, held 40 meetings, distributed many thousands of documents, and to the astonishment of Democrats the 6,700 majority by which Senator Wagner had been elected was overcome and their candidate was elected by more than 400 majority. This was a still greater surprise to experienced politicians than the result in the 5th Senatorial District had been, and the Anti-Monopolists then said if such results could be obtained in a Democratic District like the 5th and a Republican District like the 18th, what could not be done when these principles were fairly before the people?

THE WORK IN OTHER STATES.

During all this time the National Anti-Monopoly League had been industriously engaged in sending documents to every State and Territory in the Union. These documents described the evils we were combatting, and setting forth in unmistakable terms the necessity for reforms. They represented that the Republican party, having been 20 years in power, had become corrupt; that owing to its having been in power it could better serve the purposes of the Monopolists than the Democratic party, and hence they had fastened upon it so securely that the people could scarcely expect that justice for the masses could be expected from that party. Many millions of these little tracts were thus circulated, but as the head-quarters of the National League was in New York, and as this State had been perhaps more absolutely dominated by corporate power than most others, more attention was given to the situation here.

THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTIONS OF 1882.

A skeleton Anti-Monopoly State organization had been perfected, and a State Convention was called in September last, at Saratoga, in advance of the conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. It was decided not to make nominations unless both the other parties failed in their duty to present good men, in which case the State Committee was authorized to make nominations. Sub-committees were appointed to attend both the Republican and Democratic conventions. At the former, monopoly triumphed, through retaining a prominent Republican statesman as a lawyer, and with him the influence of

the National Administration was secured. Governor Cornell was struck down because he had the courage of his convictions and had signed the Railroad Commission Bill and vetoed the Elevated Railroad Tax Bill. Mr. Folger was nominated for Governor, and the resolutions presented by the Anti-Monopolists were ignored or emasculated. At the Democratic Convention the committee of Anti-Monopolists was favorably received, the principles they asked to be embodied in the platform were accepted, the candidate understood to most prominently represent railroad interests was set aside, and another candidate who pledged himself to support the principles in the platform was nominated. The Anti-Monopoly sub-committees reported back to their State Committee, which decided to indorse the Democratic State ticket. The result of the election is known to you all, but you may not perhaps be familiar with some of the work done by the Anti-Monopolists.

CAMPAIGN WORK.

They had upon their lists upwards of 50,000 names in this State who were in sympathy with their principles. Under the direction of our Campaign Committee, an address to the people of the State was issued and a copy sent to each of these men, with five sets of Democratic ballots and five Free Canal ballots, asking that he vote one set, and, if possible, get four friends to do likewise. It is of course impossible to say just how many votes were thus influenced, and of this you must be the judge. The Democratic State ticket was elected by the largest majority ever received by any party in the history of the State, and with it

A DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATURE.

Its administration thus far has been a disappointment. The Governor, who both publicly and privately pledged himself to support the platform upon which he was elected, has disregarded its utterances. It distinctly declared in favor of a fair trial of the railroad commission now provided for by law. Governor Cleveland has appointed as a majority of that commission men who are understood to have such affiliations and interests as to subject them to corporate control. He appointed as Superintendent of Public Works a man who, although in some respects competent for the position, is the trusted contractor of the New York Central Railroad, thus putting our canals—the children of the State—in

charge of a nurse who is closely associated with unfriendly influences that would starve them to death, or throttle them if it dared. His Excellency has seen fit to veto the five cent fare bill, giving as his chief reasons therefor a statement of Constitutional law which is at variance with a long line of decisions of the highest Courts in the land. A Democratic Legislature has apparently been almost, if not quite as derelict in its duty to the people and in its disregard for the platform adopted by their party. Specific promises of reform in taxation, in civil service and election reforms, in the conduct of our prisons, and in limiting the power of corporations, have thus far been disregarded. A measure in the direct line of the latter promise—the bill to prohibit free passes on railroads—has been received with the utmost coolness, has been unfavorably amended and will probably remain unenacted in any satisfactory shape. While corporate influences have not been as offensively prominent in the present Legislature as in its predecessor, there is ample evidence that it is still potent in our halls of legislation, and there are evidences that its grip upon the Democratic party as well as the Republican party is too strong to be broken by any ordinary means; let us hope that these straws do not show which way the wind blows. The principles of the Democratic party as set forth in their platform are as grand as language could make them. Let us not hope that they were put forward under the chastening influences of adversity, only to be broken when the sunlight of the people's favor dispelled the shadows which had gathered around its destiny. I, in common with thousands of other citizens, who have been educated as Republicans, have felt like giving the Democratic party a trial to see if it would do away with the evils which have fastened themselves upon our body politic. The masses do not appreciate how great, many and dangerous have been the attacks made by corporate monopolies upon our free institutions. Time will not permit me to enumerate many of these, but the following

UNDISPUTED FACTS

are sufficiently startling. It is not disputed that Gould, Vanderbilt, Huntington, Stanford, Sage, Field, &c., twenty years ago were comparatively poor men, and to-day these five men are worth probably \$500,000,000; and through the corporations they control, wield the power of \$3,000,000,000.

That they control absolutely the legislatures of a majority of the States in the Union; make and unmake Governors, Judges, United States Senators and Congressmen, and under the forms of popular government are practical dictators of the governmental policy of the United States.

That within twenty years nearly two hundred millions of acres of the public lands have been given to corporations, equal to about four acres for every man, woman and child in the United States.

That this wealth and power has been acquired largely through bribery and corruption. Mr. Gould testified in 1873 that he contributed money to control legislation in four States; and it was proven that the Erie road, in a single year under his management, disbursed more than \$1,000,000 for this purpose. His interference with the administration of our courts of justice is illustrated by his telegraphing United States Senator Plumb asking him to support Stanley Matthews for the United States Supreme Court. And the striking spectacle was presented of Whitelaw Reid, editor of one of the leading Republican journals of the country, and Henry Watterson, editor of one of the leading Democratic journals of the country, lobbying on the floor of the United States Senate to secure Mr. Matthews' confirmation as Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

That because Senator Thurman was active in compelling the Pacific railroads, in which Mr. Gould was interested, to fulfill their contracts with the Government, that honest man and able statesman could not return to the United States Senate.

That E. D. Worcester, treasurer of the New York Central Railroad, testified before the late Constitutional Convention of the State of New York that that road paid \$205,000 one year and \$60,000 another, to obtain legislation, and that IT WAS OBTAINED.

That in the United States Senatorial contest last year in the State of New York, a member of the Legislature stated that he had been given \$2,000 to vote for a railroad candidate for the United States Senate; that he had given the money to the Speaker and asked for an investigation. An investigation was ordered, and a State Senator and two lobbyists were indicted; but they have not been tried, and it is stated that corporation influence will prevent their trial, or, if tried, secure their acquittal; even now a bill is pending in our Democratic Legislature to cover the bribe into the State Treasury, but no Democratic or Republican statesman exerts his influence to have the indicted bribers tried, convicted and punished.

That in 1877 the railroad riots in Pittsburgh destroyed a large amount of property. The railroads refused to indemnify shippers, but endeavored to make the people of the State liable to the

railroads. They tried to buy a bill through the Legislature saddling several millions of dollars upon the public. Their usual method of bribery was employed, but was detected; and E. J. Petroff, a member of the Legislature, with several accomplices, were tried and found guilty; but here political influence was brought to bear, United States Senator Don Cameron leaving his seat in the Senate and going home to look after things, AND THEY WERE PARDONED.

That last Winter the railroads of New Jersey united in an effort to secure the entire water front of Jersey City under the specious guise of confirming the boundaries of a map. This infamous bill was such a flagrant disregard of public rights that the Governor, although elected by railroad votes, vetoed it. The Senate again passed it over the veto; but the Assembly hesitated, and bribery, the usual monopoly weapon in such cases, was resorted to. An investigation was ordered, and the committee reported that the bribery was fully proven, and that John J. Cromer was the man who did it. He has not yet been tried, and it remains to be seen whether Jersey justice is equal to the task of punishing a corporation briber.

That in March last two members of the Ohio Legislature were arrested for bribing others in the interest of a railroad company, and scarcely a State capital is without its yearly proof that bribery is a common corporate practice.

That the Congressional investigation of the Credit Mobilier swindle showed that \$47,261,000 profit was made by a syndicate of Congressmen and other public men; and it is a well-known fact that many of our public men have become very wealthy without any visible means of doing so.

That Congress is packed with corporation lawyers and other representatives of monopoly interests; measures in the interest of the people are retarded, smothered or throttled, while those in the interest of corporations are consummated without the slightest difficulty.

That public sentiment has for several years demanded the enactment of an adequate law for the regulation of inter-State commerce, and also the construction of a postal telegraph, but these measures have been postponed and throttled without the slightest consideration.

That the last Congress not only refused to restore to the public domain the lands which had been forfeited by the Northern Pacific Railroad, but on motion of Congressman Reed, of Maine, gag law was enforced, and Congressman Caswell, of Wisconsin, TRIED TO PREVENT THE VOTE GOING ON RECORD.

That a large portion of the public travel on free passes at the expense of the rest of the community, and a free pass issued by

the New York Central Railroad is in the possession of the Anti-Monopoly League, which specifies that it was issued on ACCOUNT OF THE SUPREME COURT.

That a committee of the New York Legislature, Hon. A. B. Hepburn, chairman, after investigating the management of railroads in that State used the following language: "The abuses in railroad management exist so glaring in their proportions as to savor of fiction rather than actual history."

That to perpetuate these abuses the perpetrators thereof are now seeking to control the thought of the nation. Leading journals are purchased with ill-gotten gains, and the ablest editors in the country are engaged to preach "peace on earth and good will to men" in one column, while misleading innocent investors and villifying patriotic citizens in the others.

THESE ARE UNDISPUTED AND INDISPUTABLE FACTS, AND ONLY A FEW OF THE MANY STRAWS SHOWING WHICH WAY THE WIND BLOWS.

In view of these facts, is it not time that citizens were associating in independent guilds or independent parties to uphold right and put down wrong; to sustain the Constitution and the old laws which were adopted to secure freedom and equality for all men?

Your City, Mr. Chairman, has been fortunate in this respect—fortunate in her citizens who are ready to subordinate partizanship to patriotism, and fortunate in her public journals which not only voice public opinion but lead it. Your young Mayor is a practical illustration of the first, and Mr. Kinsella illustrates both.

Never has there been a time during the past thousand years when there was more need of patriotic public service than now. Corporations operating under the forms of law, have pillaged the people until they are almost ready to take up arms, and when that kind of a fight is once begun, who can tell where it will stop?

We need more patriots and fewer partizans. Too many of our great men are selling their brains to enslave the people—men who

"Born for the universe, narrow their minds,
And give up to party what was meant for mankind."

Or, worse yet, selling their brains to guide, or control, or betray their party in the interest of corporations which are now corrupting and robbing the people.

We are fast becoming a nation of millionaires and tramps. Within a few days, we have read in the same morning paper of

entertainments costing a hundred thousand dollars and a family dying of starvation almost within sound of the revelry.

Is this what our fathers contemplated when they abolished the laws of primogeniture and entail?

Could they have foreseen the invention of steam and electricity and the consequent enormous development and power of corporate life, can it be doubted that they would have placed adequate checks and limitations thereto? Not every one, perhaps, is aware of the scope and license which has been granted to corporate organizations in this Nineteenth Century, and I would call attention to the following advertisement, which I clipped from the *New York Tribune* of July 19, 1879, as a straw illustrating how the wind is blowing:

"CHARTER FOR SALE.

"One of the most valuable franchises in existence is offered for sale to close a trust. Among the exceptional rights it conveys are:

- "1. Perpetuity of corporate life.
 - "2. Unlimited right to acquire, hold and deal in real property.
 - "3. Unlimited right to acquire, hold and deal in every species of property—excepting only the right to issue its own notes to circulate as money.
 - "4. Unlimited power to carry on every species of lawful business.
 - "5. Unlimited right to fix tolls and charges.
 - "6. Unlimited right to consolidate with other corporations
 - "7. Unlimited right to issue stock upon any terms prescribed by its directors.
 - "8. Absolute right to declare stock paid up on any terms agreed to with shareholders.
 - "9. Absolute exemption of shareholders from all personal liability not expressly assumed by them individually.
 - "10. The right to change the corporate name at any time upon nominal terms.
 - "11. Special exemption from taxation.
- "For particulars and terms address J. Harper Rigby, P.O. box 3,448, New York City."

With perpetuity of corporate life and unlimited right to hold property, what was the use, Mr. Chairman, of our forefathers abolishing the laws of primogeniture and entail? Wiser than philosophy, the men who wield these powers have found the elixir of commercial life. So far as power to accumulate wealth is concerned, a corporate charter can say with the brook—

"Men may come and men may go, but I go on forever."

And, like the brook, it goes on with ever-increasing strength and power; one man drops out, another takes his place, but the system goes on; and one curious thing about a corporation is, that no matter how good and true and tender a man may be, merge his individuality into a corporate organization and he becomes as hard as steel, as pitiless as the storm.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER.

I notice with pleasure that U. S. Senator Bayard, in addressing the Iroquois Club of Chicago on the 13th inst., noticed the wonderful changes made by steam and electricity and the impending danger to our free institutions, but it seems to me that a different conclusion may be drawn from the facts presented, than that drawn by Senator Bayard. He says:

"Never in human history was the creation of material wealth so easy and so marvelously abundant, its consolidation under the forms of incorporation, creating vast units of power which result in monopolies and absorb and withdraw individual and independent rivalries. Herein are dangers it will behoove us to gravely contemplate and consider what forces shall be summoned to counteract them. * * * * * The centralization of power and action is an obvious result of the invention of steam and telegraphy. The safety of our popular institutions demands the decentralization and distribution of power and its exercise for local self-government by those whose daily lives and interests are to be affected by it. Home rule, or local self-government, is a right and a necessity of American citizens, and the intent and meaning of the written Constitution of the Union. * * * We must carefully and jealously insist that the true germ and real basis of the greatness of our country should not be obscured and overlooked, and public control allowed over matters properly belonging to private jurisdiction. We need this as a check upon centralizing influences, the consolidation of wealth and power and the tyranny of party organization, all of which tend to wither individual manhood and conscience, and to absolve men from a sense of personal duty and obligation."

Senator Bayard says: "*Herein are dangers it will behoove us to gravely contemplate, and consider what forces shall be summoned to counteract them.*" Is there any power other than the machinery of Government (through which the people created monopolies) which can control them? and can this be done through weakening our machinery of Government?

U. S. Senator Windom has presented another view of this question :

"With the rapid and inevitable progress of combination and consolidation, these colossal organizations are daily becoming stronger and more imperious. The day is not distant, if it has not already arrived, when it will be the duty of the statesman to inquire whether there is less danger in leaving the property and industrial interests of the people thus wholly at the mercy of a few men, who recognize no responsibility but to their stockholders, and no principle of action but personal and corporate aggrandizement, than in adding somewhat to the power and patronage of a government directly responsible to the people and entirely under their control."—*Report of the U. S. Senate Committee on Transportation Routes*, Page 158.

I am opposed to the centralization of power either in the hands of Government or of corporations, but centralization is a *fact* staring us in the face and we must see if we cannot make one form of centralization neutralize the other. I have always noticed that every attempt of the people to employ the machinery of their Government in controlling corporate power is met by an outcry on the part of corporate organs against "centralization of power" and "addition to patronage." Elsewhere in the same speech Senator Bayard said "*A proper regulation of two opposing forces, centrifugal and centripetal, maintains true equilibrium,*" and my application of this truism is that for the last twenty years the power of corporations has increased in an enormous ratio and that an equilibrium must now be established or anarchy will result.

DEMOCRATIC GOOD FAITH.

I have been told, Mr. Chairman, that the Democracy were not sincere in their professions of Anti-Monopoly—that they would capture and monopolize and strangle the child; and that Anti-Monopolists should beware of the Democracy. Anti-Monopolists do not anticipate any danger of this kind, and I will tell you why they do not. It is because we know that if some of the men in the Democratic party are false, the *people* upon whom that party rests and to whom it owes its continued existence *are not*, and if the Democratic party is false to the principles it has professed it will go down before the indignation of a betrayed people. There is no party strong enough or large enough to monopolize Anti-Monopoly, for its foundations are laid broad and deep in the

hearts of the people, and any party that does not recognize it must go down. As stated by Hon. Jeremiah S. Black :

"All public men must take their side on this question. There can be no neutrals. He that is not for us is against us. We must have legal protection against these abuses. This agitation once begun, and the magnitude of the grievance being understood, it will force our rulers to give us a remedy against it. The monopolies will resist with all their arts and influence, but fifty millions of people, in process of time, will learn the important fact that they are fifty million strong."

For one I say, all honor to the Democracy of this State for their declaration of principles in the Syracuse platform. Will it live up to them ?

This is the great question, and upon its answer depends the future of the Democratic party, for as New York goes so goes the Union. It must be confessed that the outlook at this time is not encouraging. "It takes money to run politics," and monopolists have bought their way into power here, as in the Republican party. The brave, honest rank and file are, to a large extent, commanded by officers who are in the interest of the enemy. Railroad magnates and corporation lawyers must not be promoted to places of power if the Democratic party is to fulfill its duty to the masses. Look at the personnel and associations of your National and State Committees, and of our National and State legislatures, if you would know why Anti-Monopolists fear that Democracy cannot be any truer to its pledges than the Republicans have been. Let us see what those pledges are. The 10th article of the platform adopted at Syracuse, says :

"The public welfare demands that the various questions relating to chartered monopolies, and the methods of transportation should be met and decided, and we are in favor of the adoption of measures to restrict the growing power of such monopolies. They should be subjected to the strict supervision of the commission now provided by law. All unjust discrimination in the transportation of passengers and merchandise should be prohibited. The charges of corporations, which have taken the property of private citizens for public use, should be limited to the cost of service with a reasonable profit, instead of the mercenary exaction of all the traffic will bear; the laws should be so revised that taxation may be reduced as far as possible, and that personal and corporate property may severally pay their fair proportion of taxes."

What has the party done thus far to redeem those promises?

In asking this question of a prominent Democrat the other day, he smilingly said, "Oh, you know platforms don't mean anything."

Ab, fellow citizens, *that* seems to me to be one of the saddest and most discouraging features of our political life at this time. Has truth, and honesty and earnestness been eaten out of political life, so that public declarations mean nothing? Did the Declaration of Independence mean anything? Physicians say that in cases of injury to the brain or spinal column, insensibility in the extremities often indicates a mortal hurt; does such a remark as "platforms do not mean anything" indicate a serious injury to the body politic? I hope not, Mr. Chairman, and I hope that there are not many Democrats who will echo that sentiment. The Republican party found at the last election that platforms *did* mean something, and that their bare-faced disregard of promises made to the people during the previous three years bore fruit in a political revolution. Should not Democracy profit by such an example? When the pendulum swings far over it is apt to swing far back, and nothing but the attraction of truth and justice will make it attain its right momentum and equilibrium.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for Democracy and Anti-Monopoly. I hope they may go on together fighting the people's battle, which is the same battle that Thomas Jefferson and the other great men among the fathers fought—"for the rights of the many as against privileges for the few." The Democratic party can save this country if it will, as the Republican party once did, but it cannot be done by promoting the representatives of monopolies to the chief places of honor and power in the party. We must have more of "the Kings County plan"—more independence of the machine whenever and wherever the machine goes wrong.

Now, one word as to myself, Mr. Chairman, and I am done. I should not allude to it, but for its bearing upon the cause I have so much at heart. The men who wish to perpetuate the present state of things seek to belittle the Anti-Monopoly movement by saying that Thurber is the only man interested in it and that I act from selfish motives; that I am interested in getting preferential rates of freight or am politically ambitious. I can only say that if the former were true I should not go about it by seeking to do away with all preferential rates, and as regards the latter, I here publicly state that under no circumstances am I a can-

didate for any office. Apparently these men think that there is no honesty, no patriotism, no sympathy with the people existing in the breast of any human being. To them it seems strange that a man will sacrifice comfort and pecuniary interests for the sake of what seems to them an abstract principle. They have forgotten how this came to be a free country, and how through all the ages there have been men to contend for the rights of the many as against privileges for the few. I know in the estimation of some that I am working on the wrong side, but even if this were true, I prefer to be like the tapestry weaver,

"Who works on the wrong side evermore,
But works *for* the right side ever."

Many of the men I associate with hesitate to take sides against wealth and power, but my sympathies are with "the under dog in the fight," and I will close my remarks by reciting to you the little poem of that name.

THE UNDER DOG IN THE FIGHT.

"I know that the world, the great, big world,
From the peasant up to the king,
Has a different tale from the tale I tell,
And a different song to sing.

"But for me—and I care not a single fig
If they say I am wrong or am right—
I shall always go for the weaker dog,
For the under dog in the fight.

"I know that the world, the great, big world
Will never a moment stop
To see which dog may be in the fault,
But will shout for the dog on top.

"But for me, I shall never pause to ask
Which dog may be in the right,
For my heart will beat, while it beats at all,
For the under dog in the fight.

"Perchance what I've said I had better not said,
Or 'twere better I had said it incog.
But with heart and with glass filled chock to the brim.
Here's a health to the bottom dog."